

Code-Switching in Spanish/English Bilingual Speech: The Case of Two Recent Immigrants of Mexican Descent

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INTRODUCTION

This study presents the analysis of a home-based interaction between two Spanish/English bilingual sisters. The purpose of the study is to investigate the functions code-switching plays in this conversation and the role of these functions in the construction of their identity as elite bilinguals. In addition, this study aims to contribute to the body of research that has been conducted to identify the different functions of code-switching in bilingual interaction, particularly with regards to the creation of an ethnic or linguistic identity.

Research on code-switching has been extensive. However, the majority of the studies have been conducted on stable bilingual communities whose members are early bilinguals or sequential bilinguals who have resided in the community for an extended period of time (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Myers-Scotton, 1993b; Poplack 1980, 1981), or else they have been conducted in educational settings where one or the two languages are used as main medium of instruction (Cromdal & Aronsson, 2000; Rampton, 1999; Zentella, 1981). Furthermore, studies of code-switching in Spanish/English bilinguals of Mexican origin have analyzed primarily the interaction of second generation Mexican-Americans or that of first generation immigrants who become circumstantial bilinguals once in the United States (García, 1981; Valdés, 1988; Valdés-Fallis, 1977). Little attention has been paid to another type of population: that of the recent, educated

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immigrant who is already an elite bilingual. The current study thus attempts to fill this gap in the literature by analyzing the functions of code-switching in the interaction of two recent Spanish/English bilingual immigrants of Mexican descent.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Bilingualism and types of bilingualism

One of the greatest challenges when writing about bilingualism is finding a theoretical framework that clearly defines what bilingualism is and who is bilingual. In fact, researchers and theorists diverge on their definitions of who is purely monolingual and who is bilingual. The definitions of bilingualism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have evolved from a purely dichotomous approach (monolingual vs. bilingual) towards seeing bilingualism as a complex phenomenon that includes key features.

May, Hill, and Tiakiwai (2005) present the historical evolution of the definition of bilingualism. They begin with Bloomfield (1935) who defines bilingualism as having native-like control of two languages. Then, they point out that later approaches, such as the ones posited by Haugen (1953) and Macnamara (1966), claim that a bilingual is a speaker of one language who is also able to communicate and understand another language, even if that capacity to communicate and understand is minimal. Finally, they introduce Weinreich's (1968) position, which considers bilingualism as the ability to alternatively use two languages. The above definitions are problematic because they tend to be minimalist or maximalist in terms of whom they see as bilingual, and because they do not take into account the enormous variability across individuals.

In order to overcome the pitfalls of these early definitions, contemporary research has approached bilingualism from both a linguistic and a social perspective. Romaine (1995) and Valdés and Figueroa (1994) consider the degree of proficiency in each language as a key attribute

of bilingualism. They argue that bilingualism can be determined by how fluent the speaker is in each language and to what degree the proficiency in both languages can be compared. That is, to them, one can be a *balanced bilingual* with equal proficiency in both languages, or have a dominant language and be bilingual nonetheless. May, Hill, and Tiakiwai (2005) consider age as an important factor. They draw the distinction between a *simultaneous bilingual*, a child who acquires two languages simultaneously as a result of family or societal bilingualism, and a *sequential or consecutive bilingual*, a person who acquires a second language after the first language, almost always in puberty or adulthood and often as the result of education. May, Hill, and Tiakiwai. (2005) also maintain that the social status of the two languages and the personal circumstances of the bilingual individuals will have an impact on how they see themselves vis-à-vis the two languages, and whether they will consider themselves bilingual or not. Consequently, they argue the importance of distinguishing between the *elective or elite bilingual* and the *circumstantial bilingual*.

García (1997) and May (2002a, 2002b) point out that a person becomes an elite bilingual when the acquisition of the second language (L2) is actively promoted and supported, and it is clearly seen as a social and cultural asset. This individual usually becomes bilingual by means of the acquisition of an elite language in an educational setting. In this case, the learners/users of the second language (L2) are elective bilinguals, for they decide of their own free will to acquire the second language at school or in a study abroad context. Their native language (L1) and culture are not endangered by the acquisition of the L2. On the other hand, circumstantial bilinguals are those individuals who have to learn/acquire an L2 in order to survive in a given society without having a choice. This is the case of language minority speakers such as immigrants, refugees, and colonized indigenous people who have had to learn the language of their new country or of their colonizers in order to find a place in the mainstream society at the risk of losing their native language.

Defining code-switching

As with any aspect of the social sciences, particularly linguistics, research on code-switching (CS) is full of terminological confusion. Researchers use the same terms in different ways, or give different names to the same phenomena. In fact, there is some overlap and confusion on the uses of the terms *code-switching*, *code-mixing*, *code-alternation*, and *borrowing*.

Milroy and Muysken (1995) define code-switching as “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation” (p. 7). They use CS as an overarching term under which different forms of language change take place. They distinguish between *intra-sentential CS*, which is used to refer to switches within the sentence, and *inter-sentential CS*, which is used for switches between sentences. Beebe (1977, 1981) and Gardner-Chloros (1991) emphasize that CS occurs not only between languages, but between dialects of the same language (e.g., French and Alsatian). Gumperz (1982) states that CS refers to “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (p. 59), thus making it clear that CS can occur on varieties of the same language.

Kachru (1983) and Singh (1985) use the term code-switching for inter-sentential switches and use code-mixing for intra-sentential switches. They claim that this is a necessary distinction since only code-mixing requires the integration of the syntactic rules of both languages, whereas plain code-switching does not. However, as Boztepe (2003) argues, the difference between code-switching and code-mixing is also explained by the classification of intra-sentential and inter-sentential CS, making the use of either terminology a matter of personal preference, but one that can still create unnecessary confusion.

The term code-alternation has been used to refer to instances of one language being replaced by the other in the middle of a sentence, and it is usually related to longer stretches of CS. Code-

alternation thus differs from insertion, in that the latter phenomenon refers to occurrences of single lexical items in the base or recipient language, that is, the main language in the code-switched utterances, or to put it plainly, the language in which the greatest part of the utterance is being delivered (Muysken, 2000).

Borrowing, on the other hand, has been defined as “the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into another” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66). Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood (1987) proposed a continuum for borrowing in CS utterances. At one end of the continuum are the nonce borrowings, that is, the lexical items that might lack phonological integration and refer only to content words. At the other end of the continuum are established loan words, those that are fully integrated into the base language and that are also recurrent, accepted, and widespread in the community.

Myers-Scotton (1992, 1993a) considers the distinction between code-switching and borrowing unnecessary. However, she still distinguishes between *cultural borrowing* and *core borrowing*. Myers-Scotton (1993a) argues that cultural borrowing refers to those lexical items that are new to the recipient language culture (e.g., whisky), while core borrowings refer to those lexical items that have equivalents or near equivalents in the recipient language, and therefore, do not really fulfill any lexical gap in the recipient language (e.g., *beer*, *cerveza*, *bière*). Gumperz (1982) posits that when the language of the core borrowed item has a higher symbolic value (cf. Bourdieu, 1991), the social prestige of the donor language produces the non-integration of the borrowed word. In fact, Myers-Scotton (1993a) suggests that educated bilingual speakers will try to pronounce borrowed items as closely to the originals as possible in order to show they belong to the elite group that knows the prestigious language. This is a common practice when using certain French expressions such as ‘*grande dame*’ and ‘*savoir vivre*’ (Gumperz, 1982, p. 68).

Other researchers have followed Myer-Scotton's argument that borrowing and CS are related processes and part of a single phenomenon. Gysels (1992) and Backus (1996) stress that the line between borrowing and CS is not easy to draw. They argue that a non-base language lexical item can be either a switch or a borrowing, depending on the overall discourse structure or on the individual speakers' motivations.

Having analyzed the arguments and definitions provided above, it can be concluded that the term code-switching encompasses both code-mixing and code-alternation (intra-sentential and inter-sentential CS). It can also be concluded that a categorical distinction between CS and borrowing is unnecessary since they are related processes. Therefore, in the present paper, the term code-switching will be used to refer indistinctly to code-mixing, code-alternation, insertion, and borrowing. The term code-switching will be used in its broadest sense, that is, to indicate "the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction" (Scotton & Ury, 1977, p. 5).

Functions of code-switching

In a seminal account of discourse strategies, Gumperz (1982) adopted the cover term *contextualization cues* to refer to linguistic devices that index "what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (p. 131). Gumperz (2001) also defines contextualization cues as "any verbal sign that, when processed in co-occurrence with symbolic grammatical and lexical signs, serves to construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation and thereby affects how constituent messages are understood" (p. 221).

Gumperz (1997) identifies four different kinds of contextualization cues: (1) prosody, which includes intonation, stress, accenting and pitch shifts; (2) paralinguistic signs, which comprises

tempo, pausing and hesitation, and conversational synchrony; (3) code choice, which consists of code-switching, style switching, phonetic, phonological and morphosyntactic choices; and (4) lexical forms and formulaic expressions, for instance, opening or closing routines.

Contextualization cues play an important role in the co-construction of conversation and they are readily available to monolinguals, bilinguals, and multilinguals. Consequently, when code-switching is used for contextualization purposes in bilingual or multilingual situations, it is often accompanied by changes in intonation, pitch, and rhythm. In a study of the realization of four discourse features (asides, reiterations, buts, and quotations) by six members of the Punjabi/English bilingual community in London, Gardner-Chloros, Charles, and Cheshire (2000) found that, when acting monolingual, participants used a series of linguistic devices such as stress and intonation to accomplish the discourse features. On the other hand, when they acted bilingual, they simply added code-switching to those linguistic devices, thus double-signaling the conversational functions of the features. The researchers concluded that CS is simply an additional linguistic device at the disposal of bilinguals, the effect of which “was almost always over and above what could be achieved monolingually” (Gardner-Chloros, Charles, & Cheshire, 2000, p. 1335).

Gumperz (1982) identified six basic discourse functions that code-switching serves in conversation. These are (a) quotations, (b) addressee specification, (c) interjections, (d) reiteration, (e) message qualification, and (f) personalization versus objectivization. Quotations are simply occurrences of CS where someone else’s utterance is reported as direct quotation or reported speech. In addressee specification, the switch serves to direct the message to one particular person among the several prospective addressees. Interjections simply serve to mark sentence fillers, such as the Spanish expression *¡dale* (i.e., swell) in an otherwise purely English utterance. Reiteration occurs when the speaker repeats the message in the other code. It can be employed to clarify what

has been said or to increase the utterance's perlocutionary effect. Message qualification is defined as an elaboration of the preceding utterance in the other code. Finally, personalization versus objectivization indicates the degree of speaker involvement in what is being said.

Saville-Troike (1982) identified eight different functions of CS, some of which overlap with those proposed by Gumperz (1982). These functions are: (a) softening or strengthening of a request or command (b) intensification/elimination of ambiguity (repetition), (c) humorous effect, direct quotation and repetition, (d) ideological statement, (e) lexical need, (f) exclusion of other people within hearing, (g) avoidance strategy, and (h) repair strategy. Gardner-Chloros (1991) argues that functions of CS change according to the characteristics of the particular conversation. This is why CS may occur as an effect of the topic or the roles of the participants.

Code-switching has many other functions that go beyond the discursive ones. Some of these functions are signaling group identity and/or ethnic identity, and showing solidarity among members of the same speech community or ethnic community (Crystal, 1987; Gal, 1978; Li, 1995; Lo, 1999; Myers-Scotton, 1993b). The non-compliance to code-switch, that is, the linguistic misalignments the speaker shows, can be seen as an attempt on the part of the speaker to distance himself or herself from the other participants, be it because he or she does not want to be taken as a member of that community, or because he or she does not want to accept the participant who is making the switch as part of his or her community (Lo, 1999). Gumperz's (1982) distinction of *we-code* versus *they-code* is related to one of the basic functions just mentioned, namely solidarity. While the *we-code* refers to in-group relations and a language or variety which is sometimes undervalued (e.g., Chicano Spanish, AAVE), the *they-code* refers to the dominant language which tends to serve as the means of communication for out-group relations with the mainstream society.

Goffman (1981) suggests that code-switching is the prototypical device used by bilinguals to signal changes in frame and footing and to demonstrate whether they are aligned or not. Research

on CS has shown that this is the case. Analyzing standard and regional Italian code-switching among adult speakers, Alfonzetti (1998) found that CS was used for story prefacing, frame shifting, misalignments, topic changes, and setting quotations. Auer (1984) studied language alternation in Italian-German peer talk and adult-child conversation and found that CS plays an important role to determine whether the speaker is addressing one or many participants in a group, thus signaling the listeners' role as *ratified or unratified participants*. Based on Goffman's (1974, 1979) work on footing, Cromdal and Aronsson (2000) analyzed the play interaction of Swedish/English bilingual children from a *production formats* and *participation framework* approach. They found that code-switching was used by the speakers to signal their roles as *animators* (relayers), *authors* (creators) or *principals* (fully backing what is said). They also found that code-switching was used by the speakers to signal the roles of the listeners as *ratified or unratified participants*, thus producing instances of *byplay*, *crossplay* and *sideplay* among the participants and bystanders.

Code-switching also functions as a device to establish an identity and negotiate relations of power and dominance (Bolonyai 2005) and, in the case of developing bilinguals; it serves as a device to fill in a lexical gap (Jisa, 2000). CS also serves as a device to accommodate the linguistic needs of the listener. In interaction with a monolingual speaker, the bilingual speaker will code-switch into the listener's language, not only as a means to address him/her directly (addressee specification) but as a means to make him or herself understood.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question addressed in this paper is the following:

What functions does code-switching perform in the informal interaction between two Spanish/English bilinguals?

METHOD

Participants

The two participants in this study are sisters Martha and Sara Martínez. Martha and Sara were born and raised in Mexico and have lived in the United States during different periods of their lives. However, this is the first time they are living together in the United States. On previous occasions, they had come as exchange students and lived with English monolingual American families. During those occasions, they attended school alongside native English speakers in mainstream classrooms and were never placed in an English as second language class.

Martha is a thirty-five year old physician who self identifies as a Spanish/English bilingual, with Spanish as her dominant language, but English as her preferred language while in the United States. She first came into contact with English at the age of ten. Martha lived in the United States for two months at the age of ten, for one year at ages thirteen and eighteen, respectively. In between these two years she studied English in Mexico. She has also traveled to the United States for pleasure or work several times as an adult.

Sara is a thirty-one year old graduate student who self identifies as a Spanish/English bilingual with Spanish as her dominant language. She stated no preference for either language, saying that she likes to speak both and has no problem accommodating to whatever language her interlocutor wants to use. Her first contact with English was at the age of twelve. Sara lived in the United States for one year at ages twelve and eighteen, respectively. In between these two years she studied English in Mexico. She has also traveled to the United States for pleasure several times as an adult.

Martha and Sara lived together in their hometown until Martha finished High School and left home to attend Medical School. They both claim they only used Spanish while living in their

hometown. The sisters communicated in English on rare occasions and only when they wished to prevent understanding from bystanders, a behavior they considered rude and tried avoiding.

At the onset of data collection, Sara had been living in the United States for twenty months. She moved in with Martha when the sister arrived in the country ten months before the recording took place. Since then, Sara and Martha have been living together. Martha and Sara can be considered recent immigrants because they have resided in the United States for less than three consecutive years and still hold strong connections with their home country (Matute-Bianchi, 1991; Valdés, 1997).

Setting

The interaction which will be analyzed was held in the participants' apartment during lunch time on a weekend. The participants kept moving around the apartment (from kitchen to living room to bedroom) while the conversation was being taped. However, during most of the conversation they were in the kitchen preparing food, cleaning, or eating. The background noises and the constant movement of the participants made the conversation unintelligible at times. However, since the purpose of the study was to identify how code-switching operates in casual conversation, it seemed that recording the sisters in their own environment interacting in a non-formal way would make the data more authentic.

Data Collection Procedures

The researcher knows the participants well and knew they are Spanish/English bilinguals. However, along with a brief informal interview about their growing up and linguistic experience, the researcher asked them whether they considered themselves to be bilingual or not, and what their preferred and dominant languages were. This informal interview took place several days before the conversation was taped.

The day of the interaction, the two participants were asked permission to be video- and tape-recorded. Martha did not agree to be video-recorded; therefore, video was not used as part of data collection. Both participants agreed to be audio-recorded, but required the use of pseudonyms for themselves and for any other person or place mentioned in the conversation in order to preserve their anonymity. A Panasonic cassette recorder was placed on the dining room table and moved onto the kitchen counter as the participants proceeded to the kitchen. The interaction lasted about thirty-five minutes.

Data Analysis Procedures

The recorded interaction was heard and transcribed in its entirety by the researcher in order to identify instances of code-switching. Once it was evident that code-switching occurred during the interaction, the transcript was improved by the insertion of different contextualization cues used by the participants. Then, the passages in which code-switching occurred were coded according to their conversational functions following Gumperz (1982) and Saville-Troike's (1982) classification. Next the instances of code-switching were reanalyzed to identify if they signaled changes in topic, frame, alignment, and footing; or whether they fulfilled the listener's linguistic needs. Finally, the instances of code-switching were carefully analyzed to identify whether they contributed to the creation of the participants' identity as elite bilinguals. The instances of code-switching that were found to play solely a discursive role, such as interjections or sentence fillers, were marked but not taken into consideration for the final analysis of the data.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The data showed that both participants used English and Spanish interchangeably, and that they tended to use one language or the other for an extended period of time. That is, they tended to act

monolingual, and relied primarily on inter-sentential code-switching. The data also provided evidence for the continuous changes in the matrix language throughout the conversation. There were periods where the matrix language (ML) was English and the embedded language (EL) was Spanish, and instances where Spanish was the EL and English the ML. There were also periods in which the matrix language was simply changed (from English to Spanish or vice versa), without any of the two acting as the embedded language.

The main topics of the conversation were Martha's experience working in St. Mary's hospital and an interview she had the previous working day at St. Mark's hospital. However, other topics were also found in the conversation, primarily related to having lunch, cleaning the apartment, a visit from friends, and gossip about their hometown acquaintances.

In this conversation, CS performed a wide variety of functions often being multifunctional. Code-switching was used to quote, to fulfill the listener's linguistic needs, and to signal misalignments and changes in topics, frames, and footing. It was also used to provide evaluations of the situation being narrated and to enhance the illocutionary force of a command, particularly of indirect requests.

Quotations and changes in footing

One of the most recurrent functions of CS was that of quotation. CS was used by Martha throughout the interaction in order to personify the different interlocutors that appeared in the narration of events at her workplace and her interview at St. Mark's hospital, while the narration was conducted in Spanish. It is interesting to note that by code-switching she also signaled a change in footing from a *production formats* perspective (Goffman, 1974, 1979).

At the beginning of the conversation, which is presented in excerpt 1 below, Martha shows her relief by not having to go to the hospital and goes on complaining about being paged all the time. She expresses her complaint in Spanish (lines 3, 4, 8, 12 and 13) but switches into English to

impersonate the conversations she has with the nurses (lines 5-7 and 9-12). It appears that the instances of CS also help Martha to take the role of animator, author, or principal. In lines 8 and 12, by switching back to Spanish and using her normal tone of voice, she appears to position herself as the author and principal of the narration, but remaining as the animator of the quotes. When quoting herself in lines 5 and 9 she seems to act as both animator and author. However, by changing her tone of voice to a higher pitch, she appears to reject the role of principal. She uses a sweet voice that is not her normal tone of voice. Nevertheless, the latter is a speculation for she may in fact use that voice when she calls the nurses after receiving a page. If this is the case, then in lines 5 and 9 she is assuming the role of animator, author, and principal at once.

On the other hand, when she quotes the nurses in lines 7 and 11, she uses a different tone of voice, as if she were imitating the nurses. The code-switching alongside the change of voice allows her to detach herself from the quotes thus acting solely as mere animator.

Excerpt 1

- 1 Sara: **Ay↑, qué bonito es ver llover y no moja:rse**
{It's so nice to see the rain and not get wet}
- 2 Martha: **Sí, y sobretodo si tiene uno el día libre**
{Yes, and specially if one has the day off}
- 3 Sara: **Y yo que no puedo salir decc> pues tengo que hacer lo de la escuela<**
{And I that can't go out because I have schoolwork to do}
- 4 Martha: **Y yo tan solo de no estar oyendo pin pin pin↑..**
{And I at least I'm not hearing pin pin pin}
- 5 ((Changing to a slight higher pitch))Hi, this is doctor Martínez from team five
6 did some one page me? ((Chaging tone of voice to an ever higher pitch))
7 Yes, hi doctor Martinez, I wanted to ask you about Mr. Suárez.
- 8 ((She returns to her own voice))**Y cin:co minutos màs tarde otra vez acc--pin**
{And five minutes later again pin pin pin}
- 9 *pin pin↑*--((Changing to a slight higher pitch)) Hi, this is doctor Martinez from
10 team five, did someone page me?((Changing voice to an ever higher pitch))
11 Oh, hi doctor Martínez I wanted to discuss with you the treatment for Miss
→ 12 Smith ((she goes back to her own voice)) **y luego otra vez. y a cada rato.**
{and then again and every short while.}
- 13 **así es mi vida en el hospital**
{that's my life in the hospital}

Martha continues to complain in Spanish, this time about the inexperience of the interns, as shown in excerpt 2. In order to illustrate an argument between an intern and a nurse she switches

into English in lines 19-21. Even if in line 19 she had announced that she was quoting the interns by saying “por ejemplo dicen” {for instance they say}, creating thus the possibility of retelling their words in Spanish, she decides to quote them in English. This allows her to present herself only as the animator of the quote. Had she quoted in Spanish, she could have been mistaken for the author. In line 21, she switches into Spanish thus being again the author and principal of the complaint.

Excerpt 2

17	a donde sea que hayan ido . el problema es que todo lo aprendieron de {wherever they went. The problem is that they learnt everything from}
18	de un libro decc> no tienen experiencia < y luego discuten con las {a book decc>they have no experience< and they they argue with the}
→ 19	enfermeras. por ejemplo dicen ((Changing to a dictatorial tone of voice)) Give {nurses. for instance they say}
20	him three runs ((Changing to a high pitch with a somewhat upset voice)) Why↑
→ 21	three runs doctor? ((She returns to her own voice)) y no dan una explicación {and they don't give an explanation}

Code-switching was also used by Sara to quote. As shown in excerpt 3, Sara uses CS to quote Martha and, at the same time, she positions herself solely as the animator of the quote. She does this by stating “let me understand” (line 381) in a tone of voice imitating Martha. Martha, on the other hand, repeats the sentence (line 382) with her own voice, thus quoting herself and reiterating that she is not only the animator, but also the author and principal of the quote. In this excerpt, Martha switches back to Spanish (lines 384 and 386) in order to continue her story thus emphasizing her role as author and principal of the narration. However, when confronted with the need to quote another resident, she switches back into English (line 385) so that she is the mere animator of the quote.

Excerpt 3

379	Martha: si ella no es agencia de conseguir spots {she is not an agency to get}
380	Sara: Por eso ella te está ayudando porque mira tú nunca le reclamaste {That's why she's helping you because look you never complained to her}
→ 381	nomás le dijiste ((imitating Martha's voice)) Let me un[derstand] {you only told her}

- 382 Martha: [Let me un] derstand=
 383 Sara: =understand ((laughs))
 → 384 Martha: **Qué crees que me dijo el residente el chief de allá** ((changing her voice))
 {What do you think the resident the} {from there told me}
 → 385 so how come they are not giving you another preliminary? ((going back to
 386 her voice)) **Es el enamorado ay tan buena gente**
 {It's the one in love ay such a good person}

Martha continues to code-switch in order to quote what she and the other resident said during the conversation. When quoting herself, as shown in excerpt 4, Martha does not change her tone of voice thus positioning herself as animator, author, and principal of the quote (lines 389 and 391). However, when quoting her fellow resident she once again changes her tone of voice thus becoming solely the animator of the quote (line 392). Then, she switches back to Spanish (line 393) to continue with her narration, emphasizing her role as author and principal.

Excerpt 4

- 387 Sara: **El que se va a casar?**
 {The one who is getting married?}
 388 Martha: **Sí el que se va a casar el chief el más joven está en las nubes. Aparte le**
 {Yes the one who is getting married the} {the youngest he's distracted now}
 → 389 **pregunte sobre su fiancé** What's her name?::: **y le hice mmm:: porque nunca**
 {besides I asked him about his} {and I said mmm:: because I never}
 390 **hago un comentario personal ni nada nunca nunca pero como él estaba**
 {make a personal comment or anything never never but because he was}
 → 391 **hablando de su fiancé a la hora del lunch le pregunté** what's her name
 {speaking about his} {during} {time I asked}
 → 392 ((changing her tone of voice)) Her name is:: ((going back to her own voice)) **y se**
 {and he}
 → 393 **quedó así pensativo entonces le hice así** ((changing her voice)) **sh.. cómo**
 {stayed like this thinking so I did like this} {sh.. how}
 394 **que no sabes su nombre** ((going back to her own voice)) **nada que ver**
 {is it that you don't know her name} {that was so weird}

Fulfillment of the listener's linguistic needs

At one point in the conversation, Martha receives a phone call. The other person on the line is Pedro, a monolingual Spanish speaker calling from Mexico. As shown in excerpt 5 Martha

immediately changes from English into Spanish (line 22) when she realizes her interlocutor is a native Spanish speaker. She answers with “hello?” and changes into “hola?” and then carries out the conversation in Spanish, with a few formulaic expressions in English which apparently did not impede communication.

Excerpt 5

- 22 Martha: ((phone rings)) let me answer ((phone rings again)) hello? (0.2) **hola?** (0.5) **Ah**
 23 **Pedro quihubo? cómo estás?** (1) Oh, I don't know, **bueno te paso a Sara**
 {Peter what's up? How are you?} {well I'll put Sara on the phone}
 24 (0.2) **bueno quihubo?** (4) **bueno** when? **cuándo? en qué fechas?** (5.5)
 {OK what's up?} {OK} {when? in what dates?}
 25 **Ah!** (0.2) **Caray hijola** (0.3) **pero qué le contaste no le contas** (8) **ah hijola**
 {upsss} {but what did you tell him you didn't tell}{ah upss}
 26 (0.2) **tú que le contaste cuando te dijo cuéntame de Martha}** (7) **no no**
 {what did you tell him what did you tell him when he told you tell me about}
 27 **tras** (1.5) **ajá** (19) **si gracias por la advertencia** OK (7.2) **si** (3.2) **bueno**
 {Martha no no ups yeah} {yes thank you for the warning} {yes} {well}
 28 **pues a ver que pasa** ((laughter)) (2) **bueno** (1) /xxx/ (8) ((laughter))
 {we'll see what happens} {OK}
 29 **Así dijo? órale** (7) **ajá** (8) **bueno Pedro igualmente que estés muy bien**
 {He said so? wow} {yeah} {well Peter you too I hope you are doing fine}
 30 **te paso a Sara hasta luego** bye
 {Here is Sara see you later}

Evaluation of the situation being narrated

During the narration about her interview at St. Mark's hospital, Martha uses English to tell the story and to quote the participants; however, as shown in the excerpts presented in this section, Martha uses Spanish as a means to evaluate the situation being narrated. She provides judgments on the situation in Spanish. These judgments are sometimes followed by comments made by Sara.

In excerpt 6, Martha tells of her arrival in the hospital and the welcome she received from one of the secretaries. In line 193, she evaluates the situation positively, by saying “*haz de cuenta que llegó la reina the Prusia*” {just as if the Java queen had arrived}, emphasizing the word “*reina*” {queen}. With this sentence she evaluates the situation indicating that she was being treated with respect and deference, just as if she had been a very important person, a queen. Then, after the evaluation, she continues her narration in English.

Excerpt 6

190 Martha: thank you very much /xxxx/ so so then first by the way when I first arrived the
 191 secretary that I had to write an e-mail since I got there she was (0.2) ((raising
 192 her pitch and with an enthusiastic voice)) Martha! (0.2) ((going back to her own
 → 193 voice)) **haz de cuenta que llegó la reina de Prusia! (0.2)** and then that
 {just as if the Ja::va queen had arrived}
 194 office where they took me=
 195 Sara: =mmm=
 196 Martha: =the female surgeon who interviewed me
 197 she has a new office she remodeled it=

Martha continues to narrate her encounter with other secretaries. In excerpt 7 she tells about one encounter and quotes herself and a secretary in English. However, when questioned by Sara about the identity of her interlocutor, she replies that it was a secretary and once again evaluates the behavior of that secretary towards her in Spanish. In line 216 she mentions “pero no tenía necesidad de” {she did not have the need to} and Sara aligns with her and completes her sentence in Spanish by saying in line 218 “ser amable” {be kind}. After both Sara and Marta co-evaluate the situation, Martha goes back to telling the story in English in line 219.

Excerpt 7

211 Oh! you must be very tired ((back to her normal voice)) no no, I was very
 212 lucky because I got here fast /unintelligible/ and then she was ((raising pitch of
 213 voice)) nice to meet you nice to meet you=
 214 Sara: = that was the secretary right?=
 215 Martha: =yes
 → 216 the secretary (0.5) **pero no tenia necesidad de=**
 {but she did not have the need to}
 → 217 Sara: =**ser amable**
 {be kind}}
 218 **(0.2) especialmente en esta ciudad**
 {particularly in this city}
 → 219 Martha: **Y después de eso** So the first male doctor went well he said ((changing her
 {and after that}

Martha continues her narrations by telling about her encounters with the doctors. In excerpt 8 she is quoting in English what one of them told her (lines 240-244). Once again, she evaluates the situation in Spanish, talking about the protective attitude of the doctor (line 245), and then reflecting on her beliefs regarding the doctor’s sincerity (line 247). Once more, Sara aligns with her and helps in the evaluation of the situation finishing Martha’s thought (line 249). The data

seems to evidence that both participants are aligned as Martha, in line 251, continues the story in English, without contradicting Sara's comment.

Excerpt 8

- 238 Sara: Oh no on the contrary someone who's here might get kicked out and you might
239 get the place=
240 Martha: =exactly ((changing her voice again)) because you know many
241 times we unfortunately find out too late that we made a mistake you know in
242 the match the PG1 the first year residents we choose them without knowing
243 them and then when they are here we realize that we made a mistake and
244 that's why we prefer to give it someone like you and not someone like that
→ 245 ((going back to her own voice)) **pero el ya hablándome como protegiéndome**
{but he already talking like protecting me}
- 246 Sara: **Mmm**
- 247 Martha: **Pero te voy a decir no conozco la honestidad del doctor pero yo creo por**
{Let me tell you I do not know how sincere the doctor is but I believe from}
248 **que he visto [que]**
{from what I've seen [that]}
- 249 Sara: **[aquí] la gente no te promete algo así a menos que te va**
{[here] people don't promise you anything like that unless}
- 250 **a cumplir**
{they are going to stick to their word}
- 251 Martha: And the other doctor the female doctor she told me ((changing her voice))
252 you know Martha here you have a high possibility of getting a categorical

Increasing illocutionary force of a command alongside changes in frame and footing

Code-switching is also used by Martha as a means to increase the illocutionary force of a command. Three times during the conversation she uses Spanish to give Sara direct or indirect orders to do certain household tasks. In these cases, Martha did not use Spanish as a reiteration of a command said in English; instead, she used Spanish directly to command Sara. This immediate use of Spanish could be seen as a means to position herself as a figure of authority, since in Mexican culture the eldest sibling usually has authority over the younger ones. Therefore, by switching into Spanish, Martha does not only increase the illocutionary force, but she also signals a change in frame and footing.

In excerpt 9, Martha is narrating her visit to the hospital (line 109), but realizes that the garbage can is full and therefore utters a complaint that can be interpreted as a command. In lines 112-113 Martha tells Sara “este bote ya se llenó, a ver si lo vas cambiando” {this trash can is already full,

why don't you change it}, thus signaling a change in frame and footing. Martha is no longer the narrator of the story; she is now the older sister who is upset about her younger sister not cleaning up the apartment, and one who has the right to order the younger sibling to clean it up. She signals the change not only by code-switching, but also by using a complaining tone of voice. A frame shift also occurs. Martha and Sara are no longer in the narration of the interview frame; they are now in the complaining about cleaning frame. Sara aligns with Martha by immediately emptying the garbage can and replacing the garbage bag.

Excerpt 9

- 109 Martha: **Ya voy** ((Martha enters the kitchen 20 seconds later)) The subway is about
 {I'm coming}
 110 two big blocks away from the hospital
 111 Sara: Is that the closest to the hospital?
 → 112 Martha: Yes, ((looking down and with a complaining voice)) **este bote ya se llenó, a ver**
 {this trash can is already full,}
 113 **si lo vas cambiando, siempre es lo mismo**
 {why don't you change it, it's always the same}

((Martha goes to the dish washer and starts emptying it, Sarah empties the garbage can, closes the bag and puts in a new bag, then proceeds to wash her hands – about three minutes elapse between lines 114 and 115))

In excerpt 10, Martha once again uses Spanish to give Sara an indirect command. After Sara's suggestion that they should eat first and then empty the dishwasher, Martha misaligns with her complaining in Spanish "como si fueras a vaciar la lavadora" {as if you were going to empty the dishwasher} (line 115). Sara immediately aligns with Martha replying in Spanish that she will do it later (line 116), thus accepting that it is her job to empty the dishwasher. Sara then switches into English to ask Martha about the hospital (line 117). With the last code-switch Sara is signaling a change in frame and footing. She is no longer the young sister who follows orders, but an eager listener to a narration. She also accomplishes a change in frames which is followed by Martha who continues her story in English thus accepting the narration frame (line 118).

Excerpt 10

- 114 Sara: Let's eat first and then I'll empty the dish-washer
 → 115 Martha: **como si si fueras a vaciar la lavadora**
 {as if you were going to empty the dishwasher}

- 116 Sara: **Sí luego lo hago**
{Yes I'll do it later}
- ((Martha closes the dishwasher and goes to the table))
- 117 Sara: (2) So what happened? Since the hospital was two blocks away
- 118 Martha: You think we live in a Jewish neighborhood? You don't know what's Jewish
119 people I've been in a movi e=
- 120 Sara: =Oh my goodness!

Excerpt 11 is the last instance in which Martha uses Spanish to increase the illocutionary force of a request. She is giving Sara details about her interview with one of the doctors, when, suddenly noticing that the sink is not clean she tells Sara “mira esto no se lavó bien, hay que fijarse” {see this is not clean enough, one needs to pay attention} (line 176). Although Sara does not align in an express manner with Martha, she also does not contradict her, for she allows Martha to go back to the narration frame without interrupting her, even though a second pause elapsed in which she could have stolen the floor to misalign with Martha.

Excerpt 11

-
- 171 Martha: ((with to her own voice)) before and during=
- 172 Sara: =What's that?=
173 Martha: =during=
- 174 Sara: =Ah before
- 175 and during OK acc--I didn't get it –
- 176 Martha: ((Walking towards the sink)) **mira esto no se lavo bien, hay que fijarse (1)**
{see this is not clean enough, one needs to pay attention}
- 177 but but (0.5) then he said I did it more for the benefits than for the pay
- 178 Sara: Smart person

Signaling changes in frames and topic

Throughout the conversation it seems that frame and topic are somehow interrelated. In excerpt 12 Sara uses code-switching across turns in order to signal a change in topics. In line 49, Sara questions Martha about her appointment thus aligning with the narration of the interview frame. However, in line 51, Sara decides to change the topic. She accomplishes this by code-switching

Sometimes, as evidenced in excerpt 13, code-switching served a two-fold purpose: to signal a frame change and alignment between the participants. In line 105, by switching into Spanish, Sara signals that the narration frame is over and that the lunch frame has begun. Martha shows no objection to this abrupt change of frame and topic. On the contrary, she aligns with Sara by replying to her question in Spanish (line 107). She could have also aligned by replying in English, but it seems that her reply in Spanish and the use of the diminutive for soup “sopita”, which is very common in their hometown, also serves to reinforce solidarity between the sisters.

At the end of the excerpt, Martha brings both of them back into the narration frame by switching into English and telling Sara about the location of the hospital (line 109). Sara aligns with her and accepts the narration frame and her role as listener by asking Martha a question in English (line 110).

Excerpt 13

- 100 Martha: (0.5) here there's a policy so a lesser chance that they will give me a
 101 position (0.5) over there the first thing that the doctor told me well here the
 102 first think Dr. Jones told me it's a very competitive program maybe the most
 103 that we can do is give you a push to something elsewhere=
 104 Sara: =You told me that
 → 105 *before*< (0.2) Um, **déjame ir a ver la sopa** ((Sara goes to the kitchen))
 {let me go check the soup}
 106 **la quieres caldosa o cómo?**
 {do you want it with broth?}
 → 107 Martha: **Mira primero caldosa para tomarla como sopita**
 {First with broth to take it like little soup}
 ((Five minutes later Sara calls from the kitchen))
 108 Sara: **Ya está**
 {It's ready}
 → 109 Martha: **Ya voy** ((Martha enters the kitchen 20 seconds later)) The subway is about
 {I'm coming}
 110 two big blocks away from the hospital
 → 111 Sara: Is that the closest to the hospital?

In excerpt 14 Sara shows she is in the narration frame by asking Martha a question in English (line 117). Although Martha acknowledges the narration frame, the data shows that she begins by making a comment about the neighborhood in English and then suddenly changes into Spanish to

talk about the people that live in the neighborhood (line 121). It appears that by code-switching into Spanish, Martha is setting a new frame: the gossip frame.

As evidenced in excerpt 14, both Sara and Martha engage in gossip about Jewish people, describing how they look, comparing them with Asians and with the stereotypes of films and plays (Fiddler on the roof, line 131). By doing this in Spanish, it seems that they signal that, although they are immigrants themselves, they are different from the Jewish immigrants. By switching into Spanish, it appears as if the sisters use the “we-code” to distinguish themselves from all other immigrants who must use a common code, English, to communicate with one another.

Excerpt 14

- 117 Sara: (2) So what happened? Since the hospital was two blocks away
- 118 Martha: You think we live in a Jewish neighborhood? You don't know what's Jewish
- 119 people I've been in a movie =
- 120 Sara: =Oh my goodness!=
- 121 Martha: = **Los cairelitos y todas las**
= {the little hair curls and all the
- 122 **mujeres con sus bombinetos y sus faldas esas** ((laughs)) **como los**
{women with their special hats and those skirts} {it is like the}
- 123 **asiáticos que no sabe uno (0.5) todas las mujeres haz de cuenta**
son
{Asian that one doesn't know (0.5) all the women are as if they are}
- 124 twins y los hombres son twins
{and the men are}
- 125 Sara: =**con sus cair[elitos]**=
={with their little [curls]}=
- 126 Martha: **[todos]**=
{all of them}=
- 127 Sara: =**Oh María**
={Oh Blessed
- 128 **Santísima!**=
Mary!}=
- 129 Martha: =**Como en una como viviendo en una película**=
={Like in a like living in a movie}=
- 130 Sara: =**Sacado del**
={Taken from
- 131 **violinista en el tejado?**=
{Taken from the fiddler on the roof?}=

In excerpt 15, Martha switches into Spanish to signal a change in frames. She exits the narration frame in line 225 by asking Sara in Spanish about the soup. Sara aligns and accepts the lunch

frame by replying in Spanish (line 226). Furthermore, she uses the words “micha y micha” which are in fact a very informal way of saying “mitad y mitad” {half and half}. This change not only of language, but of style, seems to reinforce solidarity between the sisters. The lunch frame is carried about solely in Spanish. Martha switches to English to continue with the narration frame in line 230.

Excerpt 15

- 223 Martha: ((changing voice)) so you do not want a preliminary ((going back to her own voice))
 224 no no I am open to any possibility ((changing her voice)) so in the match what
 → 225 happened? ((back to her own voice)) I only applied for categoricals (0.5) **Esto es**
 {Is this}
- 226 **todo lo que hay ya?** ((referring to the soup))
 {all that's left}
- 227 Sara: **Micha y micha podemos poner más=**
 {Half and half we can make more}
- 228 Martha: **=Si porque esto no va a alcanzar**
 {Yes because this is not going to be enough}
- 229 Sara: **(9) Vas a comer esto aquí o en la computadora**
 {Are you going to eat this here or in the computer}
- 230 Martha: **En la computadora** (3) so with him and then at the end I said again stressing
 {In the computer}
- 231 that so I wanted to make it clear that my goal is the categorical.

The data also shows that code-switching does not only signal a change in frames (e.g. narration vs. gossiping), but that it also signals the places where the events take place (United States and Mexico). As shown in excerpt 16, Sara sets the events in New York City stating that Carla should come when they are in New York (line 326), then she refers to the e-mail sent by Carla that talks about her trip to the United States (line 327). She talks about the trip in English, thus apparently distancing the events from Mexico. Martha uses English in line 331 to refer to the Rotary Club, an international organization that was created in the United States.

However, in line 333, Martha code-switches into Spanish to start the gossip frame that revolves around criticizing and mocking Andrés, a businessman from their hometown. In line 334 she mentions “en una sociedad que lo permite” {in a society that allows it}, apparently signaling that this society is the Mexican society since she makes the comment in Spanish and not in English.

Both sisters distance the actions from the United States and bring them all the way back to Mexico by carrying the gossip frame in Spanish (lines 337-359). Finally, in line 360, Martha concludes by saying that it is very different from what happens here, closing the gossip frame with this statement in Spanish and going back to the narration frame immediately after in English (lines 360-361).

Excerpt 16

- 326 Sara: Well, she should come in the summer when we are still here and stay for a
- 327 longer period but I guess that will not be possible you know (0.5) she wrote
- 328 an e-mail the ticket is for thirty days so that's why because trip is only going
- 329 to be two weeks because decc>**Andrés**< did not do things on time so they
- 330 only have two weeks one in Germany and one in Holland
- 331 Martha: He doesn't realize that the Rotary Club does things one year ahead
- 332 Sara: Yeah and gosh he makes so much money it's unbelievable
- 333 Martha: **Es lo que digo, como le hacen, como hacen ese dinero es a través de**
- {That's what I say, how do they do it, how do they make that much money}
- 334 **mañas y trucos en una sociedad que lo permite**
- {it's through cunning and tricks in a society that allows it}
- 335 Sara: **Te voy a decir que en el caso de él pues si mañas=**
- {Let me tell you that in his case well yes it is cunning}=
- 336 Martha: **=mañas siempre hay**
- {there is always cunning}

- 337-359 ((From lines 337 to 359 Martha and Sarah engage in criticizing and mocking Andrés by quoting him in Spanish as he makes false promises to his teachers))

- 359 Martha: **estoy esperando que venga el mármol de Italia** ((going back to her
- {I'm waiting for the marble to come from Italy}
- 360 own voice)) **cosa que es muy diferente de lo que pasa aquí** (0.5) so
- {something that is very different from what happens here}
- 361 that's what she said at the end ((changing her voice)) there are certain
- 362 possibilities ((changing to her own voice)) and I said thank you yes I'm interested

Construction of identity as elite bilinguals

There are two instances in the conversation in which inter-sentential code-switching across turns seems to construct the participants' identity as elite bilinguals. This is accomplished not only by the words spoken, but by interlocutors' language choice, which seems to distance them from the circumstantial bilinguals or monolingual Mexicans who immigrate to the United States.

In excerpt 17, Martha and Sarah are talking about the neighborhood where St. Mark's hospital is located. Martha describes the Jewish environment and then, in line 133, she comments that there is, as usual, a Mexican restaurant. Martha also comments on the negative characteristics of the man seated outside of it, and Sara aligns with her (lines 133-135). In line 137 Martha uses the expression "tal cual nuestra gente" {that's how our people are} to continue the gossip about the Mexicans in New York, but in this case Sara completely misaligns. In line 138 Sara switches into English and misaligns with Martha. Sara questions Martha "our kind?" and then stresses the word "sorry" and goes on saying "they are from our country but they are not our kind". Sara could have said this in Spanish and misalign with Martha. However, it seems that by choosing English to state these words, she does not only misalign with Martha, but distances herself from that man seated outside the restaurant and from all immigrants alike. That is, she, who speaks English and is a graduate student, should not be confused with "them", the Mexican immigrants who idle outside ethnic restaurants and do not speak English. By replying in English she is thus showing she can speak English and she is an elite bilingual having fluent knowledge of English before her arrival in the US. Her sister knows this and Sara has no need to tell her that, but it appears that by using English she reassures herself of her position and presents herself as an elite bilingual. It is also interesting to note that Sara switches again back into Spanish to keep on criticizing the man outside the restaurant (line 139). It appears that once she has distanced herself from him, she feels free to criticize him in Spanish and carry on the gossip frame.

Excerpt 17

129	Martha:	=Como en una como viviendo en una película= ={Like in a like living in a movie}= =Sacado del
130	Sara:	=Sacado del ={Taken from
131		violinista en el tejado?= {Taken from the fiddler the roof?}= =decc> Totalmente< acc--o sea --pero no ={ decc> Completely< acc—that is—but there}
132	Martha:	
→ 133		más no falta <u>restorante tapatio</u>, ah y afuera sentado un chaparro gordo

- 134 *is always tapatio² restaurant, ah and seated outside a short fat man*
así gordo feo que nunca falta
 {like this fat and ugly like the ones there are always there}
- 135 Sara: **Sí, abundan en New York**
 {Yes, there are plenty in}
- 136 Martha: **Tal cual, nuestra gente**
 {That's how our people are}
- 137 Sara: Our kind? Sorry, they are from our country but they are not our kind
 139 (0.5) **Umm, ahí echando a perder el cuadro**
 {there, ruining the view}
- 140 Martha: **Si, totalmente**
 {Yes, completely}

As stated earlier, code-switching often signaled a change in topic. In excerpt 18 Martha is narrating in English part of her interview with one of the doctors at St. Mark's. However, in line 260, she code-switches to signal a topic change. The topic now is no longer the interview but the ABSITE exam. Sara and Martha are both aligned talking in Spanish about the test. However, when Sara points out about how some people score low even if it is in their language (lines 265-267), Martha misaligns with her and switches into English challenging Sara and saying "And, and?" (line 268). It seems that by challenging Sara in English and not in Spanish, Martha is presenting herself as someone who knows English and therefore cannot argue that language is an intervening factor on her test performance. She appears to distance herself from those immigrants who blame their bad results on their language proficiency. Sara then aligns with Martha and replies in English, acknowledging that what matters is the content, that not knowing English is not an excuse (lines 269 and 272). With this, Sara is also constructing their identity as elite bilinguals, because even if she recognizes that they are Spanish dominant, (line 269) she believes that they should be able to cope with everything in English (line 272).

Switching into English to recognize the role of English in the workplace and not disputing it seems to distance the sisters from monolingual immigrants or circumstantial bilinguals who

² The adjective "tapatio" refers to someone/something that was born/produced/representative of the state of Jalisco, México.

complain about the dominance of English and feel that their native language is undermined and even threatened. The data suggests that neither Martha nor Sara feel their L1 is undermined or endangered by English and consequently portray themselves as elite bilinguals.

Excerpt 18

- 251 Martha: And the other doctor the female doctor she told me ((changing her voice))
 252 you know Martha here you have a high possibility of getting a categorical
 253 afterwards *decc>of course you have to proof yourself you have to get good*
 254 *grades in the ABSITE<* we are pushing for eighty percent, ((going back to her
 255 own voice)) I got a fifty-five ((changing her voice again)) we are shooting for an
 256 eighty=
 257 Sara: =eighty-eight or eighty?
 258 Martha: eighty
 259 Sara: (0.5) O well
 → 260 Martha: **Si he sabido de gente que saca treinta**
 {I have known of people who score thirty}
 261 Sara: **Ah claro**
 {Ah of course}
 262 Martha: **Claro eso no me sirve de nada**
 {Of course that doesn't help me at all}
 263 Sara: **Pues no mal de muchos consuelo de tontos pero=**
 {Well no because misfortune of others is just a fool's comfort but}
 264 Martha: **=Pero=**
 {But}
 → 265 Sara: **=Pero que**
 {But that}
 266 ((chaging to an extremely high pitch of voice)) **ellos sacan treinta y es en su**
 {they get thirty and it is in their}
 267 **idioma**
 {language}
 → 268 Martha: And, and?
 → 269 Sara: Because in a way even if it's content one in a certain way is at a
 270 disadvantage
 271 Martha: Yes but but still that doesn't count
 → 272 Sara: Well, of course it doesn't count it shouldn't count because the instructions
 273 you will be giving and receiving are going to be in English and everything
 274 has to be in English that's not an excuse that's just reality (0.5) so what
 275 happened.

There were also two instances in which intra-sentential code-switching seems to construct the participants' identity as elitebilinguals. In excerpt 19, while talking in Spanish about the other residents and their medical schools, Martha adapts the words "Berkeley" and "Harvard" phonologically, thus pronouncing them in perfect English, something a Spanish monolingual speaker would not be able to do. By showing she can pronounce these proper nouns in correct

English, and not in the Spanish version, Martha seems to position herself as an educated elite bilingual (Myers-Scotton 1993a).

Excerpt 19

- 16 Martha: **dar un tratamiento de acuerdo a donde estudio Rusia** Berkeley Harvard.
{give a treatment depending on where he/she studied, Russia}
- 17 **A donde sea que hayan ido.**
{wherever they went to study}

In excerpt 20, while exchanging gossip about the Mexican residents in a New York neighborhood, Sara inserts the work “New York” in an otherwise Spanish sentence. In line 135 she uses “New York” instead of the Spanish version “Nueva York”, and she also adapts it phonologically into English. By showing, that she can pronounce this proper noun in English, Sara seems to position herself as an educated elite bilingual (Myers-Scotton, 1993a).

Excerpt 20

- 134 Martha: **así gordo feo que nunca falta**
{like this fat and ugly like the ones there are always there}
- 135 Sara: **Sí, abundan en New York**
{Yes, there are plenty in}
- 136 Martha: **Tal cual, nuestra gente**
{That’s how our people is}

CONCLUSION

This study provides evidence that code-switching occurs in bilingual speech even at the most intimate level. It also illustrates the great variety of functions code-switching played in the interaction of two Spanish/English bilingual sisters of Mexican descent. The study demonstrates that code-switching can be used by the speakers to accomplish more than one function at once, and that it is therefore advisable to analyze the functions concurrently instead of separately.

The analyses of the data showed that code-switching was used to quote and at the same time to signal changes in footing, thus allowing the participants to presents themselves as animators, authors or principals of the quotes. It also evidenced that CS was used to signal changes in frames

and topics, as well as to evaluate the situation. The analyses also showed that by using code-switching to increase the illocutionary force of a command, changes in frame and footing also occurred. Finally, the analyses seem to suggest that by code-switching into English to show misalignments or to insert a proper noun in an otherwise Spanish utterance, the participants construct their identity as elite bilinguals.

The analyses evidenced that English was mostly used to narrate formal events that took place in the United States and to quote English speakers. It also evidenced that Spanish was used to complain, to command, to talk about daily issues (i.e. lunch, cleaning) and to gossip. It seems that by code-switching into Spanish, the participants are using the “we-code”, thus reinforcing solidarity and intimacy among them. On the other hand, by using English to talk about formal events and to quote English speakers, the participants are acknowledging English as the means of communication for out-group relations.

Of particular interest were the findings related to the participants’ construction as elite bilinguals. There were two instances in the conversation in which the participants misaligned with each other and double signaled their misalignment by code-switching into English. The data suggests that these misalignments had an effect that went above signaling disagreement: they appear to help the participants construct their identity as elite bilinguals. By code-switching into English on those occasions, the participants appear to distance themselves from the rest of the immigrant population who do not speak English or who speak very limited English. They portray themselves as being fully able to speak English and in an expressive manner, acknowledging and approving of the role of English in the workplace. By doing this, they seem to show that they do not feel that their native language is being threatened by the dominance of English in most domains of American life.

This study provides further evidence that bilingual speakers can accomplish with code-switching what monolingual speakers can accomplish only through other contextualization cues. Furthermore, it illustrates that by code-switching bilingual speakers double-signal their changes in frames, alignment and footing, thus making it easier for the other participants to identify those changes and react accordingly. The study evidences that code-switching is often used with other contextualization cues, and that, by doing so, bilingual speakers are able to produce a discursive effect far greater than monolinguals can.

Limitations of the study

A significant limitation of this study is the inability to generalize the results due to the number of participants and the limited data corpus. It would be necessary to record more conversations both between the participants and between them, their friends and their co-workers in order to identify how code-switching operates when talking to non-family members and in the work environment. These conversations would also help identify whether code-switching produces changes in footing from a *participation framework* perspective. A fuller documentation of interaction would then show whether the two participants construct their identity as elite bilinguals by means of code-switching in the presence of others.

Directions for further research

Since there seems not to be extensive research on recent immigrants with extensive formal education, there is great need for the expansion of such work. Studies of CS in Spanish/English bilinguals of Mexican descent have been carried out mainly with first generation immigrants who arrive with little formal education or with second generation Mexican-Americans. It would be

interesting to conduct parallel research on both populations to find out whether the participants use code-switching as means to construct their identity as circumstantial or elite bilinguals.

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Appendix 1

Transcription Conventions

[overlap begins
[
]	overlap ends
]	
=	No interval between two speakers' utterances. Also links different parts of one speaker's continuous utterance when the speech goes onto another line due to an intervening line by a different speaker.
(0.0)	timed pause
,	untimed pause (it refers to normal pauses between constituents or utterances)
:	sound extension (the more, the longer the extension)
.	stopping fall in tone
?	rising inflection
!	animated tone
(())	researchers comments about the interaction
/x/	unintelligible word
/xxx/	unintelligible words
ABC	increased volume
<u>underline</u>	emphasis
↑	rising intonation in the preceding word or syllable
↓	falling intonation in the preceding word or syllable
<i>acc--abc--</i>	encloses speech with an increase in speed delivery
<i>decc>abc<</i>	encloses speech with a decrease in speed of delivery
→	focus of attention
English	talk in English in regular script
Español	talk in Spanish in bold script
{translation}	translation of Spanish into English

Appendix 2

Transcript of the conversation between Martha and Sara Martínez

- 1 Sara: **Ay↑, qué bonito es ver llover y no moja:rse**
{It's so nice to see the rain and not get wet}
- 2 Martha: **Sí, y sobretodo si tiene uno el día libre**
{Yes, and specially if one has the day off}
- 3 Sara: **Y yo que no puedo salir decc> pues tengo que hacer lo de la escuela<**
{And I that can't go out because I have schoolwork to do}
- 4 Martha: **Y yo tan solo de no estar oyendo pin pin pin↑..**
{And I at least I'm not hearing pin pin pin}
- 5 ((Changing to a slight higher pitch))Hi, this is doctor Martínez from team three
6 did some one page me? ((Chaging tone of voice to an ever higher pitch))
7 Yes, hi doctor Martínez, I wanted to ask you about Mr. Suárez.
8 ((She returns to her own voice))**Y cin:co minutos más tarde otra vez acc--pin**
{And five minutes later again pin pin pin}
- 9 *pin pin↑*--((Changing to a slight higher pitch)) Hi, this is doctor Martinez from
10 team three, did someone page me?((Changing voice to an ever higher pitch))
11 Oh, hi doctor Martínez I wanted to discuss with you the treatment for Miss
12 Smith ((she goes back to her own voice)) **y luego otra vez. y a cada rato.**
{and then again and every short while.}
- 13 **así es mi vida en el hospital. acc--Si estoy en el operating room no recibo**
{That's my life in the hospital. acc--If I am in the} {I don't get}
- 14 **ningún page-- pero cuando salgo es un problema porque luego hay**
{any} {but when I get out it's a problem because then there are}
- 15 **desavenencias en las indicaciones médicas. cada intern quiere dar un**
{disagreements in the medical instructions. each} {wants to give a}
- 16 **tratamiento de acuerdo a donde estudio Rusia Berkeley Harvard.**
{treatment depending on where he/she studied, Russia}
- 17 **a donde sea que hayan ido. El problema es que todo lo aprendieron de**
{wherever they went. The problem is that they learnt everything from}
- 18 **de un libro decc>no tienen experiencia< y luego discuten con las**
{a book decc>they have no experience< and they they argue with the}
- 19 **enfermeras. por ejemplo dicen** ((Changing to a dictatorial tone of voice)) Give
{nurses. For instance they say}
- 20 him three runs ((Changing to a high pitch with a somewhat upset voice)) Why↑
21 three runs doctor? ((She returns to her own voice)) **y no dan una explicación**
{and they don't give an explanation}
- 22 ((phone rings)) let me answer ((phone rings again)) hello? (0.2) **hola?** (0.5) **Ah**

- 52 **te sirvieron?--**
 {you useful?}
- 53 Martha: Guess what? No=
 54 Sara: =No?=
 55 Martha: =You take the cross town and then you need to take
 56 the D or C change at Columbus Circle=
 57 Sara: =Oh! But so the map is not right, but
 58 then it was the same, you went to fifty-ninth then?
 59 Martha: Oh yeah, it worked perfectly but look at the map here look at the crosstown
 60 look a the map ((giving Sara the map))
 61 Sara: But here it doesn't show apparently on ninety sixth street they have the
 62 A,C,E,D=
 63 Martha: =No, no, no because [look]
 64 Sara: [AH:::] I didn't pay attention I even thought of
 65 telling you like if it doesn't come go to fifty-ninth street, acc--*because that's*
 66 *What I did the other time?--but acc--you figured it out-- So, what happened?*
- 67 **Qué hiciste cuando llegaste a las doce?**
 {What did you do when you got there at twelve?}
- 68 Martha: I arrived (1) and I waited
 69 Sara: Where?
 70 Martha: Fifteen minutes downstairs in another chair where [/xxx/]
 71 Sara: [Ah OK] ((laughs))
 72 Martha: The hospital (0.5) is a huge building is big acc--*of course not like St. Mary's*
 73 -- but it's very (0.5) it is (0.5) not cool, in a way I think like St. Vincent's
 74 looks better
 75 Sara: *Which one* looks better?
 76 Marta: St. Vincent's (0.2) it's more /x/ than St. Mark's, but it's in the city, so I'm going
 77 from worse to worse to worse bu:t now you see for my: purpose ((yawning))
 78 I go to the hospital (0.2) and I come home only to sleep and I don't do anything
 79 else for [me]
 80 Sara: [For] you it makes no differ[rence]
 81 Martha: acc--[*It makes*] *no difference*—and we'll pay a much
 82 lower rent ↓ the thing is we'll have to lookfor an apartment decc>*close to a*
 83 *subway station*< within walking distance acc--*it doesn't matter if I have to walk*
 84 *six blocks*— instead of just crossing the street
 85 Sara: I also will have to walk the six blocks too so that will make both of us
 86 Martha: I think that being closer to the subway station it's better because in any case
 87 whenever I want to go out at least I know that the subway station is close
 88 Sara: And of course, if we can also be close to the hospital?
 89 Martha: ((Yawning)) /xxx/
- 90 Sara: (2) **bueno, qué pasó?**
 {well, what happened?}
- 91 Martha: It's a preliminary position so nothing new in the application /xxx/
 92 Sara: Preliminary?
 93 Martha: Yes, preliminary,=
 94 Sara: =but do you think?=
 95 Martha: =here they offer me also a preliminary
 96 but here after that preliminary I have to go look elsewhere over there=
 97 Sara: =but
 98 you don't know if over there they are going to offer you=

- 99 Martha: =but there's at least
 100 (0.5) here there's a policy so a lesser chance that they will give me a
 101 position (0.5) over there the first thing that the doctor told me well here the
 102 first think Dr. Jones told me it's a very competitive program maybe the most
 103 that we can do is give you a push to something elsewhere=
 104 Sara: =You told me that
 105 *before*< (0.2) Um, **déjame ir a ver la sopa** ((Sara goes to the kitchen))
 {let me go check the soup}
- 106 **la quieres caldosa o cómo?**
 {do you want it with broth?}
- 107 Martha: **Mira primero caldosa para tomarla como sopita**
 {First with broth to take it like little soup}
- ((Five minutes later Sara calls from the kitchen))
- 108 Sara: **Ya está**
 {It's ready}
- 109 Martha: **Ya voy** ((Martha enters the kitchen 20 seconds later)) The subway is about two
 {I'm coming}
- 110 big blocks away from the hospital?
 111 Sara: Is that the closest to the hospital?
 112 Martha: Yes, ((looking down and with a complaining voice)) **este bote ya se llenó, a ver**
 {this trash can is already full,}
- 113 **si lo vas cambiando, siempre es lo mismo**
 {why don't you change it, it's always the same}
- ((Martha goes to the dish washer and starts emptying it, Sarah empties the garbage can, closes the bag and puts
 in a new bag, then proceeds to wash her hands – about three minutes elapse between lines 113 and 114))
- 114 Sara: Let's eat first and then I'll empty the dish-washer
- 115 Martha: **como si si fueras a vaciar la lavadora**
 {as if you were going to empty the dishwasher}
- 116 Sara: **Sí luego lo hago**
 {Yes I'll do it later}
- ((Martha closes the dishwasher and goes to the table))
- 117 Sara: (2) So what happened? Since the hospital was two blocks away
 118 Martha: You think we live in a Jewish neighborhood? You don't know what's Jewish
 119 people I've been in a movie=
 120 Sara: =Oh my goodness!=
 121 Martha: = **Los cairelitos y todas las**
 = {the little hair curls and all the
- 122 **mujeres con sus bombinetos y sus faldas esas** ((laughs)) **como los**
 {women with their special hats and those skirts} {it is like the}
- 123 **asiáticos que no sabe uno (0.5) todas las mujeres haz de cuenta**
son
 {Asian that one doesn't know (0.5) all the women are as if they are}

- 124 twins y los hombres son twins=
{and the men are}
- 125 Sara: =con sus cair[elitos]=
={with their little [curls]}=
- 126 Martha: [todos]=
{all of them}=
- 127 Sara: =Oh María
={Oh Blessed
- 128 Santísima!=
Mary!}=
- 129 Martha: =Como en una como viviendo en una película=
={Like in a like living in a movie}=
- 130 Sara: =Sacado del
={Taken from
- 131 violinista en el tejado?=
{the fiddler on the roof?}=
- 132 Martha: =decc>Totalmente< acc--o sea --pero nomás
={ decc>Completely< acc—that is—but there}
- 133 no falta restorante tapatio, ah y afuera sentado un chaparro gordo así
{is always a tapatio³ restaurant, ah and seated outside a short fat man like this}
- 134 gordo feo que nunca falta
{fat and ugly like the ones there are always there}
- 135 Sara: Sí, abundan en New York
{Yes, there are plenty in}
- 136 Martha: Tal cual, nuestra gente
{That's how our people is}
- 137 Sara: Our kind? Sorry, they are from our country but they are not our kind
- 138 (0.5) Umm, ahí echando a perder el cuadro
{there, ruining the view}
- 139 Martha: Sí, totalmente
{Yes, competely}
- 140 Sara: Clash!
- 141 Martha: But getting along .
- 142 Sara: Yeah, there´s no reason for them not to get along
- 143 Martha: No reason?
- 144 Sara: Well, I know in the sense that /xxx/ you know (0.5) So:
- 145 Martha: So: they told me the position that we have now the first doctor he was like
acc--güiri güiri güiri güiri güiri güiri güiri -- and then he asked me he
146 {bla, bla, bla, bla, bla, bla, bla, bla, bla}
- 147 asked me a couple of questions I answered him and then he started talking
148 about himself and then he said ((*chaging her tone of voice*)) no I'm talking about
149 myself you should go first ((going back to her own voice)) and then he started
150 asking me more questions about me like he said ((changing her tone of voice))
151 how is it that you came across to learn French? How is it that you know

³ The adjective “tapatio” refers to someone/something that was born/produced/representative of, the state of Jalisco, México.

- 152 French? ((going back to her own voice)) Oh because because (0.5) one of my
 153 sisters went over to France to study [her Master's Degree]
 154 Sara: [How did he know?] Did you put that
 155 in your CV?=
 156 Martha: =Yes=
 157 Sara: =Oh OK=
 158 Martha: =((chaging her tone of voice)) Oh no I only ask
 159 because I worked for Air France two years ((back to her own voice))really?
 160 Sara: Where did he work?=
 161 Martha: =Air France=
 162 Sara: =Oh!=
 163 Martha: =Really? ((changing her tone of voice))Yes
 164 ((going back to her own voice)) before medical school I asked=
 165 Sara: =Ah=
 166 Martha: =((changing
 167 her tone of voice)) Well yes oh no, before and during actually=
 168 Sara: =before what?=
 169 Martha: =((going
 170 back to her own voice)) before and during=
 171 Sara: =What's that?=
 172 Martha: =during=
 173 Sara: =Ah before
 174 and during OK acc--I didn't get it –
- 175 Martha: ((Walking towards the sink)) **mira esto no se lavo bien, hay que fijarse (0.5)**
 {see this is not clean, one needs to pay attention}
- 176 but but (0.5) then he said I did it more for the benefits than for the pay
 177 Sara: Smart person
 178 Martha: He was good=
 179 Sara: =How old was he?=
 180 Martha: = Young, he even told me about his wife
 181 ((chaging her tone of voice)) my wife she she was a resident at St. Mary's
 182 ((going back to her voice)) really!? (0.2) pediatrics, pediatrics so he was more
 183 like you know ((changing her voice)) I know Dr. Jones she worked here ((going
 184 back to her own voice)) Oh wow!=
 185 Sara: = ah! so they definitely know you were there
 186 because Dr. Jones sent you right?
 187 Martha: I guess because the other doctor said °well Dr. Jones has spoken very
 188 highly of you° **y luego otra vez** °Dr. Jones has spoken very hightly of you°
 {and then again}
- 189 **es nada más para que veas y yo pues** thank you very much, thank you
 {so you can have an idea and then I}
- 190 very much /xxx/ so so then first by the way when I first arrived the secretary
 191 the secretary that I had to write an e-mail since I got there she was (0.2) ((raising
 192 her pitch and with an enthusiastic voice)) Martha! (0.2) ((going back to her own
 193 voice)) **haz de cuenta que llego la reina de Pru:sia! (0.2)** and then that
 194 {just as if the Ja::va queen had arrived}
- 195 office where they took me=
 195 Sara: =mmm=
 196 Martha: =the female surgeon who interviewed me she
 197 has a new office sheremodeled it=

- 198 Sara: =mmmm=
 199 Martha: =it's like they gave her like a /xxx/
 200 part in the hospital, she closed it, she painted it, she redid everything the floor
 201 the doors, it's like you are in a poor hospital you walk through the doors those
 202 doors that are crystal that is like blurry you know=
 203 Sara: =yeah
 204 Martha: those doors with the metal handle with lock, it was such a nice office, with nice 205
 furniture, very cozy, her secretary all charming very very charming secretary 207 (0.2)
 and then /xxx/ the secretary of Dr. Peck saw me, because I
 208 my appointment was at one but she was there at one ten she was worried
 209 ((raising pitch of voice)) have you been waiting long? ((back to her normal voice)) 210
 No no I just got here a few minutes ago ((raising pitch of voice)) oh oh OK (0.2)
 211 Oh! you must be very tired ((back to her normal voice)) no no, I was very
 212 lucky because I got here fast /xxx/ and then she was ((raising pitch of voice))
 213 nice to meet you nice to meet you=
 214 Sara: = that was the secretary right?=
 215 Martha: =yes the
 216 secretary (0.5) **pero no tenia necesidad de=**
 {but she did not have the need to}
 217 Sara: **=ser amable**
 {be kind}]
 218 **(0.2) especialmente en esta ciudad**
 {particularly in this city}
 219 Martha: **Y después de eso** So the first male doctor went well he said ((changing her
 {and after that}
 220 voice)) I understand you are interested in a categorical but because you want to
 221 get to a preliminary you are looking for a preliminary that has more possibilities
 222 of getting to a categorical ((going back to her own tone of voice)) **exactly** ((changing
 223 her voice again)) so you do not want a preliminary ((going back to her own voice))
 224 no no I am open to any possibility ((changing her voice)) so in the match what
 225 happened? ((back to her own voice)) I only applied for categoricals (0.5) **Esto es**
 {Is this
 226 **todo lo que hay ya?** ((referring to the soup))
 all that's left}
 227 Sara: **Micha y micha podemos poner más=**
 {Half and half we can make more}
 228 Martha: **=Si porque esto no va a alcanzar**
 {Yes because this is not going to be enough}
 229 Sara: **(9) Vas a comer esto aquí o en la computadora**
 {Are you going to eat this here or in the computer}
 230 Martha: **En la computadora** (3) so with him and then at the end I said again stressing
 {In the computer}
 231 that so I wanted to make it clear that my goal is the categorical (0.5) yes I am
 232 interested in a preliminary considering that I do not have a program and there
 233 might be a possibility and he said ((changing her tone of voice)) well you know
 234 what happens at this hospital is that we do we do kick people out
 235 Sara: Oh my god!
 236 Martha: ((Going back to her own voice)) He didn't say that like warning me that he was
 237 going to kick me out
 238 Sara: Oh no in the contrary someone who's here might get kicked out and you might

- 239 get the place=
 240 Martha: =exactly ((changing her voice again)) because you know many
 241 times we unfortunately find out too late that we made a mistake you know in
 242 the match the PG1 the first year residents we choose them without knowing
 243 them and then when they are here we realize that we made a mistake and
 244 that's why we prefer to give it someone like you and not someone like that
 245 ((going back to her own voice)) **pero el ya hablándome como protegiéndome**
 {but he already talking like protecting me}
- 246 Sara: Mmm
 247 Martha: **Pero te voy a decir no conozco la honestidad del doctor pero yo creo por**
 {Let me tell you I do not know how truthful the doctor is but I believe from}
- 248 **que he visto [que]**
 {from what I've seen [that]}
- 249 Sara: **[aquí] la gente no te promete algo así a menos que te va**
 {[here] people don't promise you anything like that unless}
- 250 **a cumplir**
 {they are going to stick to their word}
- 251 Martha: And the other doctor the female doctor she told me ((changing her voice))
 252 you know Martha here you have a high possibility of getting a categorical
 253 afterwards *decc>of course you have to proof yourself you have to get good*
 254 *grades in the ABSITE<* we are pushing for eighty percent, ((going back to her
 255 own voice)) I got a fifty-five ((changing her voice again)) we are shooting for an
 256 eighty=
 257 Sara: =eighty-eight or eighty?
 258 Martha: eighty
 259 Sara: (0.5) O well
 260 Martha: **Si he sabido de gente que saca treinta**
 {I have known of people who score thirty}
- 261 Sara: **Ah claro**
 {Ah of course}
- 262 Martha: **Claro eso no me sirve de nada**
 {Of course that doesn't help me at all}
- 263 Sara: **Pues no mal de muchos consuelo de tontos pero=**
 {Well no because misfortune of others is just a fool's comfort but}
- 264 Martha: **=Pero=**
 {But}
- 265 Sara: **=Pero que**
 {But that}
- 266 ((chaging to an extremely high pitch of voice)) **ellos sacan treinta y es en su**
 {they get thirty and it is in their}
- 267 **idioma**
 {language}
- 268 Martha: And, and?
 269 Sara: Because in a way even if it's content one in a certain way is at a
 270 disadvantage
 271 Martha: Yes but but still that doesn't count
 272 Sara: Well, of course it doesn't count it shouldn't count because the instructions

273 you will be giving and receiving are going to be in English and everything
 274 has to be in English that's not an excuse that's just reality (0.5) so what
 275 happened?
 276 Martha: She concluded that there is a high possibility that I can get there because
 277 things chance a lot in their program I know that also some residents take a
 278 year off for research but she didn't mention anything about that=
 279 Sara: =the problem is that you do a research year you have to go back
 280 Martha: Where?
 281 Sara: What kind of visa would you get if you are a fellow instead of working? If
 282 you do a research year?
 283 Martha: No I can't take a research year what I meant is that someone takes a
 284 research year=
 285 Sara: =I know=
 286 Martha: =and I can use that position I do not mean that for
 287 me (0.5) I told her that well yes I am very interested but I still have to get
 288 everything through the residency manager and he is not here this week so:
 289 it is not the residency coordinator not the surgeon who's in charge of the
 290 program but the secretary but he is away for this week it is just like Michael
 291 who is also away=
 292 Sara: =mmm=
 293 Martha: =but she told me ((chaging her voice)) go ahead I'll
 294 interview you and ((going back to her own voice)) then she said ((changing her
 295 voice)) said Dr. Jones has spoken very highly of you ((back to her own voice))
 296 °oh thank you thank you° and then half way through ((chaging her voice
 297 again))Dr. Jones has spoken very highly of you ((going back to her own
 298 voice)) /xxx/
 299 Sara: That means that you were there only because of her
 300 Martha: **Mira que amable la doctora pues una recomendación de ella no la**
 {See how nice the doctor is because they cannot leave a recommendation
 301 **pueden dejar=**
 {from her}=
 302 Sara: **=así nomás**
 ={just like that}
 303 Martha: (3) so: it's taking the chance well it's actually taking the risk I have to take it
 304 and decide another year of enjoying here getting a lot of experience and
 305 pushing for them to make an exception like accepting a person with very
 306 poor grades
 307 Sara: (2) so is the neighborhood nice?
 308 Martha: No, not at all it's like construction it's nothing **no no no no no** it's it's
 {no no no no no}
 309 depressing like St. Vincent is hip hop you know
 310 Sara: Oh my goodness
 311 Martha: Park avenue is hip hop
 312 Sara: What's the prince ranges of the apartments you saw?
 313 Martha: Well in the internet is much a waste of time it's not=
 314 Sara: =Of course
 315 Martha: I couldn't find any in that area
 316 Sara: So we will have to go and luck for it
 317 Martha: I am not sure what the price will be but definitely cheaper than here
 318 We need to find something near the subway station that's I would prefer
 319 also because when Carla visits I'm thinking of her she doesn't want to go
 320 to the hospital she wants to go out the problem with the train station is that
 321 she has to walk up the stairs so I have to look for a bus line where is the

- 322 bus stop maybe is better to live closer to the bus stop than to the subway
 323 station=
 324 Sara: =mmm=
 325 Martha: =Because of Carla
 326 Sara: Well, she should come in the summer when we are still here and stay for a
 327 longer period but I guess that will not be possible you know (0.5) she wrote
 328 an e-mail the ticket is for thirty days so that's why because trip is only going
 329 to be two weeks because decc>**Andrecito**< did not do things on time so they
 330 only have two weeks one in Germany and one in Holland
 331 Martha: He doesn't realize that the Rotary Club does things one year ahead
 332 Sara: Yeah and gosh he makes so much money it's unbelievable
- 333 Martha: **Es lo que digo, como le hacen, como hacen ese dinero es a través de**
 {That's what I say, how do they do it, how do they make that much money}
- 334 **mañas y trucos en una sociedad que lo permite**
 {it's through cunning and tricks in a society that allows it}
- 335 Sara: **Te voy a decir que en el caso de él pues si mañas=**
 {Let me tell you that in his case well yes it is cunning}=
- 336 Martha: **=mañas siempre hay**
 {there is always cunning}
- 337 Sara: **Bueno en el caso de él es explotar a sus trabajadores porque eso es lo**
 {Well in his case it is exploiting his workers because that is what}
- 338 **que hace les paga el salario mínimo a los maestros y los maestros lo**
 {he does he pays the minimal wage to the teachers and the teachers}
- 339 **aceptan=**
 {accept it}=
- 340 Martha: **=Ahí está**
 {Here it is}
- 341 Sara: **Por eso cuando me ofreció ser coordinadora de su escuela** ((changing
 {That's why when he offered me to be his school's supervisor}
- 342 a slightly higher pitch)) **decc>no muchas gracias<**
 {no thank you very much}
- 343 Martha: **Por eso te digo con alguna maña=**
 {That's why I tell you with some sort of cunning}
- 344 Sara: **=Sí claro**
 {Yes of course}
- 345 Martha: ((chaging her tone of voice making it sweet sounding)) **Si mire usted profesor**
 {Yes look (respectful) you}}
- 346 **profesora el próximo año les vamos a poner un cuarto de maestros**
 {teacher (female) teacher next year we are going to have a teacher's room}
- 347 **con aire acondicionado** ((going back to her own voice)) **cada año les dice**
 {with air conditioning} {every year he tells them}

- 348 **eso cada año renuncian y cada año contratan nuevos. si me**
 {that and every year they resign and every year he hires new teachers. you}
- 349 **entiendes?=-**
 {understand me?}=-
- 350 Sara: **=Claro si eso es lo que hace**
 ={Of course yes that is what she does}
- 351 Martha: **Si le dicen está muy fea esta sala de maestros no hay baños** ((changing
 {If they tell him that the teacher's room is very ugly there are no restrooms}
- 352 her tone of voice making it sweet sounding)) **es que les vamos a poner un**
 {it's that we are going to make for you}
- 353 **baño con mármol y estoy esperando a que llegue el mármol de Italia**
 {a marble bathroom and I'm waiting for the marble to come from Italy}
- 354 Sara: **Ah bueno**
 {Yeah right}
- 355 Martha: **Nomás que llegue el mármol de Italia les pongo su baño para los**
 {As soon as the marble comes from Italy I will build the bathroom}
- 356 **profesores=-**
 for the teachers}
- 357 Sara: **=De qué lugar de Italia es ese mármol famoso? de Carrara?**
 {What place of Italy is this famous marble from? From Carrara?}
- 358 Martha: ((going back to her own voice)) **Así queda él bien** ((changing her tone of voice))
 {that way he makes a good impression}
- 359 **estoy esperando que venga el mármol de Italia** ((going back to her
 {I'm waiting for the marble to come from Italy}
- 360 own voice)) **cosa que es muy diferente de lo que pasa aquí** (0.5) so
 {something that is very different from what happens here}
- 361 that's what she said at the end ((changing her voice)) there are certain
 362 possibilities ((going back to her own voice)) and I said thank you yes I'm
 363 interested (0.2) **ahora siguiente paso**
 {now next step}
- 364 Sara: **Esperar=-**
 {Wait}
- 365 Martha: **=Entonces le escribí a la Doctora Jones** I wrote to her I met
 {Then I wrote to Doctor Jones}
- 366 with Dr. Alper and Dr. Golok today and they were both very kind and they
 367 told me that they will review my application in consideration for a PG1
 368 preliminary
- 369 Sara: You told her preliminary right?
- 370 Martha: Yes, yes, and then I said Dr. Golok tells me that (0.2) depending on my
 371 performance maybe there is the possibility that I could have a categorical
 372 position in the program next year because there are usually many changes

- 373 in their program (0.2) and a position is likely to open **punto** Dr. Alper and
{period}
- 374 Dr. Golok stressed many times the fact that you had recommended my
375 application before hand. thank you very much. **pues la tengo que**
{because I have to keep her}
- 376 **mantener así** (0.5) **imagínate después de que atiende a tanta gente.**
{like this} {imagine after she deals with so many people}
- 377 **siempre le están reclamando** ((changing her tone of voice)) **Doctora Jones**
{They are always complaining to her} {Doctor Jones}
- 378 **como no me consiguió un lugar** ((going back to her own voice)) **si ella no es**
{how come you didn't get me a spot} {she is not an}
- 379 **agencia de conseguir spots**
{agency to get}
- 380 Sara: **Por eso ella te está ayudando porque mira tú nunca le reclamaste**
{That's why she's helping you because look you never complained to her}
- 381 **nomás le dijiste** ((imitating Martha's voice)) Let me un[derstand]
{you only told her}
- 382 Martha: [Let me un] derstand=
383 Sara: =understand ((laughs))
384 Martha: **Qué crees que me dijo el residente el chief de allá** ((changing her voice))
{What do you think the resident the} {from there told me}
- 385 so how come they are not living you another preliminary? ((going back to
386 her voice)) **Es el enamorado ay tan buena gente**
{It's the one in love ay such a good person}
- 387 Sara: **El que se va a casar?**
{The one who is getting married?}
- 388 Martha: **Sí el que se va a casar el chief el más joven está en las nubes. Aparte le**
{Yes the one who is getting married the} {the youngest he's distracted now}
- 389 **pregunte sobre su fiancé** Her name is::: **y le hice mmm:: porque nunca**
{besides I asked him about his} {and I said mmm:: because I never}
- 390 **hago un comentario personal ni nada nunca nunca pero como él estaba**
{make a personal comment or anything never never but because he was}
- 391 **hablando de su fiancé a la hora del lunch le pregunté** what's her name
{speaking about his} {during} {time I asked}
- 392 changing her tone of voice)) Her name is:: ((going back to her own voice)) **y se**
{and he}
- 393 **quedó así pensativo entonces le hice así** ((changing her voice)) **sh.. cómo**
{stayed like this thinking so I did like this} {sh.. how}

428 wanted to go back but I'm not going to be able to scrub ((changing her voice))
 429 so what. are you still looking for a place? What's going on? ((changing her
 430 voice)) Well I can't find any place ((changing voice)) oh ok ok but you're not on
 431 call today? ((changing voice)) no I'm not ((changing voice again)) ok ok ok ((going
 432 back to her regular voice)) the next day things were like he had forgotten then
 433 told him ((changing voice)) Matt can I ask you a favor? ((changing voice)) yes
 434 yes ((changing voice again)) do you mind if I give my pager to Fen Ling ((going
 435 back to her normal voice)) Fen Ling had already told me ((changing her voice))
 436 I'll help you I'll do something while you are trying to find a match
 437 Sara: What's his name?
 438 Martha: ((going back to her regular voice)) Fen Ling Fen Ling he is like Jim he is like
 439 Jim **haz de cuenta es el gemelo de** Jim
 {Imagine he is Jim's twin}
 440 Sara: Ah=
 441 Martha: **=pero más alto**
 {but taller}
 442 Sara: **gordito también**
 {chubby as well}
 443 Martha: **si gordito y de este tamaño=**
 {yes chubby and this size}
 444 Sara: **=y simpático ha de ser**
 {and he must be nice}
 445 Martha: **tan bueno de esos corazones**
 {so nice one of those hearts}
 446 Sara: **corazones nobles**
 {noble hearts}
 447 Martha: **si pues, éste no tiene misterios, ningún misterio, entonces no**
 {yes exactly, this one has no mysteries, not a single mystery, so I}
 448 **pude decirle nada más y nada más le di el pager paso una hora**
 {couldn't tell him anything else and I only gave him the} {an hour}
 449 **pasaron dos dos horas y media y Fen Ling no dijo nada de que**
 {went by two hours went by two and and half hours and Fen Ling didn't}
 450 **hay? Porque porque de verdad me ayudo**
 {say anything like what's up? Because because he really help me.

((At his point Martha requested the tape recorder to be turned off))